

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-08  
DODE-00 H-01 IO-16 NSC-01 NSAE-00 COME-00 HA-08  
L-03 LAB-04 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 STR-14 SIL-01  
USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 SPD-02  
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P 141249Z MAR 75

FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7050

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 JOHANNESBURG 0699

CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV PINS SF

SUBJ: MEETING WITH UDF OFFICIALS

REFS: A) JOHANNESBURG 645, B) STATE 74921

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: POLOFF'S MEETING WITH UDF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY POPO MOLEFE WAS RESCHEDULED FOR MARCH 12. MOLEFE AND UDF PUBLICITY SECRETARY PATRICK LEKOTA, NWHO ALSO ATTENDED LUNCHEON, WERE CONCERNED THAT THEY WOULD BE ARRESTED AND ASKED THAT THE USG MAKE REPRESENTATIONS TO THE SAG TO FORESTALL THE MOVE. THEY ALSO ASKED THAT THE USG URGE THE SAG TO GRANT BAIL TO DEFENDANTS IN DURBAN TREASON TRIAL, ESPECIALLY TO THE ELDERLY ALBERTINA SISULU AND ARCHIE GUMEDE. THEY ADMITTED THAT THE ARRESTS HAD THROWN UDF INTO DISARRAY ORGANIZATIONALLY AND UDF'S CONTINUED ADVOCACY OF NON-VIOLENCE IN THE FACE OF ANTI-UDF ACTIONS WOULD CAUSE DIS-  
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AFFECTIONS AMONG YOUNG BLACK RADICALS. MOLEFE AND LEKOTA WERE INTERESTED IN TALKING WITH SAG OFFICIALS -- ON AN INFORMAL BASIS -- BUT WOULD NOT MAKE ANY PUBLIC MOVE THAT WOULD CAUSE DISSENSION AMONG THEIR SUPPORTERS, A GOAL THEY BELIEVED MOTIVATED THE GOVERNMENT OFFERS OF TALKS, ESPECIALLY THE OFFER TO NELSON MANDELA.

THEY ACCEPTED AND APPRECIATED THE SINCERTIY OF THE US POSITION ON THE ARRESTS. WHILE UNPERSUADED ON DISINVESTMENT, THEY LISTENED CAREFULLY AND ACCEPTED THE POINT THAT DISINVESTMENT MIGHT LEAD TO A CURTAILING OF POSITIVE US ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA WHICH WERE AIDING THE PROCESS OF CHANGE. END SUMMARY.

3. LUNCHEON MEETING WITH UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) EXECUTIVE SECRETARY POPO MOLEFE AND POLOFF TOOK PLACE MARCH 12 INSTEAD OF MARCH 13 (REF A) BECAUSE OF MUTUAL SCHEDULING PROBLEMS. MOLEFE BROUGHT UDF PUBLICITY SECRETARY PATRICK "TERROR" LEKOTA WITH HIM. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS EXTREMELY CORDIAL. THERE WAS NO RHETORICAL POSTURING AGAINST CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT ALTHOUGH THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME LEKOTA HAD HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO LAY OUT UDF POLICY FOR POLOFF. BOTH MEN SAID AT THE END THAT THE CONVERSATION HAD BEEN EXTREMELY USEFUL AND THAT THLY WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED AT A LATER DATE. THEY MADE A HASTY AND PRO FORMA DISCLAIMER TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY WERE SPEAKING AS INDIVIDUALS, NOT AS UDF OFFICIALS. DEPARTMENT AND CONSULATE GENERAL WERE ON THE SAME WAVELENGTH AS POINTS SUGGESTED REFTEL WERE MADE BY POLOFF.

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ARRESTS  
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4. THE SUBJECT OF ARRESTS WAS UPPERMOST IN THE MINDS OF THE UDF OFFICIALS. THEY EXPECTED TO BE PICKED UP BY THE POLICE AT ANY MOMENT, NOTING THAT THEY HAD BEEN THE ONLY UDF OFFICIALS NOT AT CONFIDENTIAL

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HOME AT THE TIME OF THE ARRESTS OF THE OTHER EIGHT. THEIR HOVES ANF ALL UDF OFFICES HAD BEEN SEARCHED. ALL PAPERS HAD BEEN IMPOUNDED. BOTH ACTIONS WERE PROOF, THEY SAID, THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S AIMS IN ARRESTING THE 16 ON TREASON CHARGES WAS TO DESTROY THE UDF AS A POLICICAL ORGANIZATION.

5. LEKOTA AND MOLEFE WERE AWARE OF THE US STATEMENT ON THE ARRESTS AND EXPRESSED APPRSCIATION FOR BOTH THE POSITION TAKEN AND THE CONTINUING INTEREST SHOWN BY THE USG IN SPECIFIC CASES OF ARREST AND DETENTION. THEY ASKED THAT REPRESENTATIONS BE CONTINUED TO FORESTALL FURTHER ARRESTS AND TO PRESSURE THE GOVERNMENT TO GRANT BAIL FOR THE DURBAN 16. THE SAG SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO ARGUE, THEY SAID, THAT THERE WAS SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE CASES OF THE FOUR YOUNG STAYAWAY LEADERS WHO JUMPED BAIL AND THOSE OF ALBERTINA SISULU AND ARCHIE GUMEDE, WHO WERE OLD AND HAD FAMILY TIES THAT WOULD KEEP THEM IN SA.

6. THE LIKELY NATURE OF THE CHARGES AGAINST THE DURBAN 16 WAS BRIEFLY DISCUSSED. LEKOTA AND MOLEFE SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY LAWS WERE DRAFTED SO BROADLY THAT ALMOST ANYONE COULD BE

CONVICTED OF A CRIME. HOWEVER, THEY SAID THEY BELIEVED THAT THE CHARGES WHICH WOULD BE BROUGHT AGAINST THE 16 WOULD RELATE TO SONGS SUNG OR SLOGANS SHOUTED AT RALLIES, NOT TO ANY ACT OR WORDS OF THE ACCUSED. MOLEFE SAID, "I KNOW I HAVE NEVER ADVOCATED THE OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT." BOTH MOLEFE AND LEKOTA SAID THAT THE UDF WOULD LOSE SUPPORT AMONG YOUNG BLACKS -- WHO WOULD "GO UNDERGROUND" -- IF THEY WOULD NOT SHOW ANY RESULTS AS AN ORGANIZATION IN FAVOR OF NON-VIOLENT CHANGE.

7. POLOFF SAID THAT THE US HAD MADE ITS POSITION CLEAR THAT THE ARRESTS OF UDF LEADERS DID NOT AID THE PROCESS OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND BLACCS. THIS POSITION WAS KNOWN TO THE GOVERNMENT AND SHOULD BE A FACTOR IF ANY FURTHER ARRESTS WERE BEING CONSIDERED. POLOFF TOLD MOLEFE AND LEKOTA THAT THE USG COULD NOT INTERVENE IN JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS BUT THAT SHE WOULD PASS ON THE REQUEST REGARDING THE GRANTING OF BAIL FOR SISULU

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7051  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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AND GUMEDE.

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TALKS  
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8. LEKOTA AND MOLEFE WERE EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN POLOFF'S  
STATEMENTS THAT THE DESIRE INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT FOR TALKS WITH  
LEGITIMATE BLACK LEADERS WAS SINCERE. THEY EXPRESSED THEMSELVES  
AS QUITE WILLING TO ENGAGE IN "INFORMAL" TALKS WITH INDIVI-  
DUALS WHO HAD SERIOUS INFLUENCE OVER GOVERNMENT POLICY. MOLEFE  
AND LEKOTA SAID IT WAS THE UDF WHICH HAD TRIED TO OPEN A DIALOGUE  
WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND NOT VICE VERSA. THEY SAID THAT THE UDF  
HAD NOT EVEN RECEIVED AN ANSWER TO ITS LETTERS, WRITTEN  
SHORTLY AFTER THE UDF WAS FOUNDED, EXPLAINING ITS OPPOSITION TO  
THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE EXCLUSION OF BLACK PARTICIPATION.  
MOLEFE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED PW BOTHA'S OFFER TO MANDELA WAS MADE  
IN BAD FAITH, WITH THE AIM OF DIVIDING MANDELA FROM HIS PEOPLE

AND IMPRESSING FOREIGN COUNTRIES WITH SAG "REASONABLENESS." MOLEFE  
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AND LEKOTA LISTENED WITH INTEREST TO POLOFF'S REPORT THAT BOTHA'S  
SECOND STATEMENT, MADE AFTER MANDELA'S RESPONSE TO HIS OFFER,  
WAS BEING INTERPRETED AS A SOFTENING OF HIS POSITION.

9. LIKE MANY OTHERS WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN, MOLEFE AND LEKOTA  
SEE THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL CONVENTION OR A "PEOPLE'S CONGRESS" AS  
A WAY TO PUT EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE INTO AN ACCEPTABLE CONTEXT --  
SO THAT IT DOES NOT APPEAR THAT BLACK LEADERS ARE ACCEPTING  
INADEQUATE OR SHAM REFORMS. LEKOTA, HOWEVER, SAID THAT THE  
GOVERNMENT MUST BEGIN TO DISMANTLE LEGISLATION WITH A REAL  
IMPACT ON BLACK LIVES (IN CONTRAST TO THE MIXED MARRIAGES AND  
SECTION 16 OF THE IMMORALITY ACTS), SUCH AS THE 1909 AND 1936  
LAND ACTS. LEKOTA SAID BLACKS SHOULD HAVE RIGHTS TO ACQUIRE FREE-  
HOLD PROPERTY ANYWHERE IN SA. ALSO IN THE CONTEXT OF SETTING THE  
SCENE FOR TALKS, LEKOTA SAID THAT THE SEPARATION OF URBAN AND  
RURAL BLACKS IN PW'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT WAS UNACCEPTABLE, NON-  
NEGOTIABLE. LEKOTA AND MOLEFE WERE QUITE WILLING TO ACCEPT POL-  
OFF'S VIEW THAT HIS SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT MEANT THAT PW WAS WRITING  
OFF THE RIGHT WING AND THAT HIS PROPOSALS ON A BLACK AGENDA WERE  
SIGNIFICANT. LEKOTA ALSO MENTIONED UNBANNING MRS MANDELA AS A  
GESTURE THAT WOULD SET THE SCENE FOR TALKS, WITHOUT IMPLYING  
THAT IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT GESTURE. LEKOTA PUT POLITICAL EN-  
FRANCHISEMENT AT THE END OF THE PROCESS, EXPLICITLY DECOUPLING  
FREEHOLD TENURE QUESTIONS FROM THE FRANCHISE: "WE DON'T NEED THE  
FRANCHISE TOMORROW; FREEHOLD MEANS SOMETHING IN ITSELF."

10. LEKOTA AND MOLEFE SAID THEY WOULD BE PERFECTLY WILLING TO SIT  
AT THE SAME TABLE WITH KWAZULU CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI. REGARDING  
THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (AZAPO), THEY WONDERED OUT LOUD  
WHY THE SAG HAD LEFT ALONE A SOCIALIST GROUP THAT FAVORED PUSHING  
WHITES OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA WHILE MOVING AGAINST THE NON-DOC-  
TRINAIRE UDF.

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11. (IN A CONVERSATION WITH C/G BROWN, SPECIAL ASSISTANT RODERT  
CABELLY, AND POLOFF ON MARCH 13, RAND AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY RECTOR  
AND BROEDERBOND PRESIDENT DE LANGE WAS ASKED, IN A GENERAL  
CONTEXT, ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE SAG TALKING TO THE UDF.  
DE LANGE QUESTIONED UDF POPULAR SUPPORT AND SAID THAT THE  
GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT TO RECOGNIZE THE UDF AS REPRESENTATIVE OF  
THE BLACK POPULATION, NOR TO GIVE UDF STATUS BY SEEKING TALKS WITH  
THE UDF. HE AMENDED THIS STATEMENT IN SUBSEQUENT REMARKS TO SAY

THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE INTERESTED IN TALKING TO THE UDF AS ONE REPRESENTATIVE GROUP. DE LANGE SAID THAT PW BOTHA'S COMMITMENT TO SERIOUS TALKS WAS ABSOLUTE AND THAT BOTHA HAD PERSONALLY TOLD DE LANGE THAT, IF THE BLACK FORUM SHOULD FAIL, HE WOULD TRY OTHER IDEAS, UNTIL ONE SUCCEEDED.)

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DISINVESTMENT  
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12. LIKOTA AND MOLEFE APPEARED TO SUPPORT DISINVESTMENT AS AN ANTI-APARTHEID "GESTURE" FROM THE AMERICANS. ("WE APPRECIATE ANY GESTURE.") THEY ALLEGED THAT AMERICAN COMPANIES DID NOT HAVE A PARTICULARLY GOOD RECORD IN SA AND THAT THE TAXES THE COMPANIES PAID TO THE SAG SUPPORTED THE SAG'S REPRESSIVE MACHINERY. THEY REACTED POSITIVELY, HOWEVER, TO THE ARGUMENT MADE BY AMB NICKEL AT THE LUNCHEON FOR BUSINESSMEN JANUARY 8 THAT INVESTMENT WAS NOT A FLOW THAT COULD READILY BE TURNED ON AFTER IT WAS TURNED OFF. THE CONSEQUENT ISOLATION OF SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT LIMIT US ABILITY TO BE AN ACTIVE FORCE FOR CHANGE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ON A WIDE FRONT, FROM AID PROGRAMS TO EXPRESSION OF CONCERN ON DETAINED PERSONS. LEKOTA AGREED THAT THE ANTI-APARTHEID BATTLE WOULD BE WON BY INTERNAL ACTIONS.

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ADDITIONAL REQUESTS  
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13. BOTH LEKOTA AND MOLEF WOULD LIKE TO TRAVEL OUT OF SOUTH

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USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01 SPD-02  
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P 141249Z MAR 84  
FM AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7052  
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
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AFRICA AND ASKED POLOFF WHETHER USG COULD HELP THEM GET PASSPORTS.  
MOLEFE, A TSWANA, HAS NOT YET APPLIED FOR A PASSPORT. LEKOTA,  
A SOTHO, APPLIED FOR A SOUTH AFRICAN PASSPORT "SEVERAL MONTHS AGO"  
BUT HAS RECEIVED NO REPLY ON HIS APPLICATION. BOTH RAISED THE  
FACT THAT THE USG HAD BEEN HELPFUL IN GETTING NIEMAN FELLO

ZWELACKE SISULU A PASSPORT. IT WAS AGREED TO DISCUSS THE MATTER FURTHER AT A LATER DATE.

14. COMMENT: THE REQUESTS MADE OF THE USG WERE MADE WITHOUT TRUCULENCE OR POSTURING, BUT RATHER AS A STRAIGHTFORWARD SUGGESTION TO PEOPLE WHO WERE ASSUMED TO WANT TO HELP. THE SINCERITY OF RECENT USG STATEMENTS WERE NOT QUESTIONED. OLEFE AND LEKOTA'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS SAG INITIATIVES AND TALKS WITH THE SAG IS CONFUSED -- THEY TEND TO JUMP AROUND FROM FRIEVANCE TO GRIEVANCE AND MIX ORANGES AND APPLES (E.G., THERE IS A BIG DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UNBANNING MRS MANDELA AND REPEALING THE LAND ACTS AS "GESTURES" TO BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS). HOWEVER, THEY ARE OPEN TO IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS. THEY CERTAINLY DO NOT  
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WANT TO SEE THE SAG SECCEED IN EMASCULATING THE UDF OR DRIVING ITS SUPPORTERS UNDERGROUND. WE ARE STRUCK -- AS WE HAVE BEEN IN OTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH BLACK OPPOSITION LEADERS -- BY THE ABSENCE OF BITTERNESS OR HATRED EXPRESSED TOWARDS P.W. BOTHA PERSONALLY.

15. ON THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT INTENTIONS TOWARDS THE UDF, ONE INTERPRETATION REMAINS THAT THE ARRESTS OF UDF OFFICIALS FRANK CHIKANE, ALBERTINAHSISULU AND ISMAIL MOHAMMED (NOT NOT OF THE REMAINDER OF THE 16) SUPPORTS THE THESIS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE TO PUT THE UDF ON ICE. MOLEFE AND LEKOTA ARE NOT THE ONLY INDIVIDUALS WORRIED ABOUT ARREST. OPERATION HUNGER EFECUTIVE MOHAMMED DANGOR AND SA INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS MONTY NARSOO BOTH THINK THEY -- AND "200 OTHERS" WILL BE DETAINED AS POTENTIAL WITNESSES. THEY DO NOT SEE THE ARRESTS SO MUCH AS AN ANTI-UDF MOVE PER SE, BUT RATHER A TARGETTING OF PEOPLE WITH PAST ANC LINKS. ONLY ISMAIL MOHAMMED OF THE 16, THEY SAY, HAAS NO ANC LINKS. END COMMENT.

16. LEKOTA CALLED POLOFF MARCH 13, OBVIOUSLY PLEASED AT THE US VOTE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA IN THE UNSC, TO ASK FOR THE TEXTS OF THE RESOLUTION AND THE US STATEMENT. BROWN

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL

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